

The Germs of War

A Study in Preparedness

—BY—

S C O T T N E A R I N G



**Published and Copyrighted by
The National Rip-Saw Publishing Company
Saint Louis, Missouri
1916**

The Germs of War

A Study in Preparedness

By SCOTT NEARING

1. Peace Game or War Game.

The American people are being urged to "prepare." Is it preparation for peace or preparation for war?

If the preparedness agitation looks toward peace, it must meet with the approval of the people of the United States, because as a people they are for peace. Their ideals are peaceful; their traditions are not war-like. Both in theory and in practice the American Democracy has set its face toward liberty, justice, and righteousness—ideals that are most easily reached by travelers who take the paths of peace.

The point was well stated by the President in his Speech at Pittsburgh (January 29, 1916): "America is nothing if it consists merely of each of us; it is something only if it consists of all of us, and it can not consist of all of us unless our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty and justice and right." Two days before, in New York, the President had said: "In all the belligerent countries men without distinction of party have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. Is it not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossessions aside and draw together for the successful prosecution of peace? I covet that distinction for America; and I believe that America is going to enjoy that distinction."

Liberty and justice and right are to be made the cornerstone of peace, and America is to be the builder of an enduring temple in her honor. This democracy, founded on the proposition that all men are created free and equal, stands first for those things that lead toward the equalizing of opportunity. With equal fervor the democracy stands against all things that point toward tyranny, depotism, and vested might.

Militarism has an unsavory reputation. Wherever it has fastened itself on a nation, oppression, tyranny and injustice have grown as the flower grows from the seed. Militarism holds in her hand the sword of vested might that deals the death-blow to democracy. Liberty, equality and fraternity, therefore, are ill at ease in her presence.

The conflict between militarism and democracy is a conflict to the death. Neither can abide the presence of the other. If militarism is to stay, democracy must go.

Stop for a moment in your rush for preparedness—and while the navy is being increased and the army recruited up to a half million; while the papers are filled with warnings, and the militarists make their outcry from the housetops; while the high school boys are drilling and the society women are rolling bandages,—repeat the question,—“Is it preparation for peace, or is it preparation for war?”

America cannot be true to herself, and prepare for war. She cannot live up to the ideals of her democracy on any other than a peace basis. She dare not take the hand of militarism, even for a moment, for in that moment democracy flies from her. Militarism and military aggression are alike as far from the hearts of the common people of the United States as the East is far from the West.

The man who urges the United States to prepare for war is false to all that is highest and finest in American life. Only he who desires to prepare for peace is a true American.

From the Navy League, The Defense League, the Associations of Women who are buying blankets and rolling bandages, and the military and naval authorities who are urging “preparedness,” there comes a storm of indignant protest, “We are the champions of the nation’s honor! We would guard her fair name! We are patriots, worthy of the greatest traditions of a great country. Our program is a program of defense. America must be protected against foreign foes, while she works out her ideals and her destiny. We are preparing, not for war, but for peace.”

2. Two Cases of Preparedness.

Be it so!

Take the argument on its merits. The United States is opposed to war. She is preparing in order that she may play her part in maintaining peace. By what means may war be prevented and peace established? Or, put the question more generally, and ask, "How do you avert an impending danger?"

Your city is threatened with typhoid fever. Do you import doctors, hire nurses, and rush through appropriations for new hospitals? or do you boil the water and inspect the milk?

You are an intelligent human being, living in a scientific age. Across the path of progress, you find an obstacle before which you must stop. This obstacle may be a plague, a crime-wave or a war. What do you do?

There is only one answer to that question, the whole world over. Any thinking people living under any form of government and speaking any language, will follow exactly the same course. They will face the obstacle squarely and ask:

Question 1. What is it?

Question 2. Why is it?

Question 3. How can it be overcome?

These are the three questions that science always puts to every new obstacle that it encounters.

Primitive men cowered in fear, or prayed to their gods, or ran away. The honest, fearless seeker after truth first asks the questions of science, and then labors until he finds the answers.

There are many fields in which the three questions of science have been asked and successfully answered. The people of Havana for centuries had been plagued with yellow fever. Year after year the terrible disease

returned to the city, to overwhelm the people and to take their children and their loved ones. Some said, "It is a punishment for sin." Others, "It is the will of God." The American men of science came, asked their questions, and set about discovering the answer. "What is yellow fever?" They found that it was a disease that was produced by germs. "Why is yellow fever?" After long study it was discovered that it was carried by the mosquitoes. "How can we destroy the mosquitoes?" A method was found, and since the American occupation of Havana, yellow fever, that had, up to that time, been an annual visitor, has become a stranger to the city. Yellow fever, like every other disease which afflicts civilization, will be destroyed when we find the germs and destroy them.

Find the germs! Discover the causes! Then and only then can you deal with the effects.

Remember the experience of the English-speaking race with its criminal classes. The good Samaritan of the Parable took his man to the hotel, cared for him, and paid his bill. Therein, he showed himself charitable. But was he just? What were the germs of this crime? The injured traveler, like the person stricken with the yellow fever, was the effect. Ask the questions of science, "Who were the criminals?" "Why were they criminals?" "How can crime be prevented?" Pity the effects, but seek out the cause!

For centuries the criminal law of the English-speaking world has been written as though the criminal alone were to blame. The pillory, the dungeon, and the scaffold completed the work begun by the bludgeon of the policeman. "Give us enough pillories, dungeons, scaffolds and bludgeons" insisted the upholders of the criminal code, "and we will stamp out crime."

Well, did they?

The penalties which the English Code prescribed for criminal offenses, even of the most trivial character, were frightfully severe. Did crime cease? No! Did it diminish? No! What was the reason? The law was trying to abolish a thing that it did not understand.

The up-to-date social scientist has begun to treat crime scientifically. In answer to the question, "Why?" the criminologist has discovered that there are two chief causes of crime. First and most important there are the frightful economic and social conditions under which millions of children are pushed toward the brink of the criminal precipice. Second, there are the mental and physical defects that unbalance the individual who is suffering from them. Practically all of the crime from which society suffers can be traced to one of these two causes. The policeman's club has no more effect on either of them than it would have on a sandpile.

The hideous criminal code, built on the power of force, has failed because the causes producing criminals were entirely beyond the reach of the code. If one-half of the people in the United States were hanged in the next year, there would still be crime. No amount of punishment of individuals will have any effect on a thing, for which the individual is not responsible. It is as easy to stop the flow of a river with a dam as to stop crime with a jail.

Today we are looking for the germs of crime. Instead of dealing with the effects, we are seeking to check this social scourge at its source.

The old system of treating the criminal failed. It failed to reform the criminal, and it failed to prevent crime. It failed because it was unintelligent. It had taken no notice of causes.

Many people are today talking of war, and its prevention. The same questions that are asked in any other scientific inquiry must be asked here. There is no use in trying to prevent war, until we understand the causes of war. It will be time enough to think of preventing war when we have isolated the germs of war and studied them.

What are the germs of war? Where do they breed? On what do they thrive?

3. "Human Nature" and War.

Many people will answer at once that the germs of war are in human nature. "And you can't change human nature," they add despairingly.

Shortly after the outbreak of the present war in Europe, a man was talking over the situation. "At bottom," said he bitterly, "we are hyenas, nothing but hyenas." He might as well have said that the rose at bottom is nothing but dirt.

Whatever may have been true in the past, this war has shown as clearly as it has shown anything, that men and women of all nations are brave, self-sacrificing, heroic. No great nation now at war can accuse any of its enemies of being either cowardly or weak. But, better than that, if the inside stories that come from the front mean anything, they mean that the men and women of the nations now at war did not want war, and now that they are at war, except in the heat of battle, they do not hate one another.

War is built out of the mud of human nature.

The passions of men are inflamed; they are told that their hearths and homes are in danger; they are persuaded that their existence and the existence of their country is at stake, and then they go to war. War is impossible until the nations have been roused to frenzy.

The soldiers in the trenches exchange cigarettes and shake hands. They talk back and forth, as man with man. If they were not at war they would work side by side in the same shops; eat side by side in the same restaurants, and sleep side by side in the same rooms.

Human nature has many sides. Some of them are good, and some are bad. War suppresses the good and brings the bad to the surface. War is hell, and it develops man's most hellish instincts. The phrase, "There

is no good Indian but a dead Indian'' speaks the true war-spirit. Your enemies are bad because they are your enemies.

You probably know people from all of the nations at war, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Austrians and Italians. They have their good qualities and their bad ones. In every army now in the trenches there are men who are good fathers, good neighbors, good workmen, good citizens. In every army there are roughs and hoodlums. No people in the world has any monopoly in goodness or in badness.

Human nature is as capable of peace as it is capable of war. Witness the peace that has reigned for a century between Canada and the United States! There is not a fort on the boundary-line; not a warship in the lakes and the two peoples are at peace, and there is not even a hint of a desire for war.

Subject human nature to one line of treatment, and you develop bitterness, fear, hatred, war. Give it the opposite line of treatment, and you develop good feeling, friendship and peace.

Human nature cannot be blamed for war. One part of it is used in making war just as one part of corn is used in making whiskey.

4. Treasonable Lying and War.

Before human nature can be sufficiently embittered and terrified to produce war between great nations, someone must do a great deal of missionary work. The people must be prepared for war. They must be appealed to, stirred up, exasperated, enraged, infuriated.

A thorough-going war spirit can be extracted from life only after years of steeping and simmering. Children are taught to hate. In their games they slaughter their foes—by name. Then school books teach them to hate, by distorting the facts of history, and by misrepresenting their enemies. Their military drill and patriotic appeals teach them to hate, by making them believe that their country is the greatest, strongest country on earth, and their enemies' country is the weakest and meanest. Their churches teach them to hate by telling them that God is on their side, while their enemies are in league with the devil.

Thus steeped and schooled in hate, enthusiastic, patriotic and ignorant, they go out to wage war against oppression in the name of liberty.

The idea is splendidly developed in the following lines written by W. N. Ewer for the London "Nation":

FIVE SOULS

First Soul

I was a peasant of the Polish plain;
 I left my plow because the message ran:
 Russia, in danger, needed every man
 To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.
 I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
 For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Second Soul

I was a Tyrolese, a mountaineer:
 I gladly left my mountain home to fight
 Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
 And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
 I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
 For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Third Soul

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
 When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
 His felon blow at France and at the world;
 Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
 I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
 For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Fourth Soul

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
 Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
 Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
 Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
 I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
 For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Fifth Soul

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde;
 There came a sudden word of wars declared,
 Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
 Asking our aid; I joined the ranks, and died.
 I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
 For those who bade me fight had told me so.

The United States is now in the midst of a campaign of misrepresentation, the like of which has never before been undertaken in the history of the country. For years, the American reading public has been treated to a flood of systematic lying about Mexico. So serious did the situation become that the President of the United States was finally forced to issue a warning which was printed in the papers of March 26, 1916. Among other things the President charged the great vested interests

with a deliberate attempt to start a war with Mexico by circulating false news through this country. He said, "The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the government of the United States and the de facto government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interests of certain American owners of Mexican properties."

By way of further emphasis, the President added, "The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot, and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border, and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter."

Here is a deliberate statement made by the highest official in the United States, that certain of the great vested interests are trying to stir up a war between the United States and Mexico, in order to safeguard their properties and increase their profits.

The New York Times comments on the President's statement in a way that indicates that the President would have been justified in issuing his warning at any time within the past six years.

"It is well known," says the Times on Sunday, March 26, 1916, "that false reports about the hostility of Mexicans to the American troops of the punitive expedition have been freely circulated. Southern Texas has contained many agencies for the spreading of reports calculated to involve the United States in difficulties with Mexico since the very beginning of the Madero revolution in 1910, and the methods of the interventionists have been perfectly well known to our government and the American newspapers."

If the Times is correct, and as one of the leading papers of the country it is in a position to speak with authority, there have been six years of deliberate effort to start a war between two peaceful countries, for the

purpose of making certain American investments in Mexico "pay."

Here is a group of dynamiters who are trying to wreck, not buildings, but nations. Who can forget the wave of frenzied criticism that swept over the United States when the McNamara brothers were tried? They had destroyed life and property! To the gallows with them! Since the President spoke his warning against this group of buccaneers who are seeking to embroil two nations that do not want war, there has been only a feeble suggestion, in the daily and weekly press, that an investigation be made, that the offenders be discovered, tried for treason, and made to suffer the penalty of their misdeeds.

Compare this journalistic indifference to a monstrous crime, with the attitude of the papers toward preparedness. With a few creditable exceptions, the newspapers of the country, during the past year and a half, have come out strong for preparedness, and have deliberately suppressed news of every description that bore on the other side of the question. It is enlightening to have a managing editor say to a committee of citizens interested in offsetting the wave of preparedness hysteria,—“We are not here to print your side of the case. We are for preparedness. If you want space for your side buy it.”

Here are strange doings! The President contenting himself with a **warning** against treasonable acts. The press of a great country solid on one side of an issue of the most momentous consequence to the future of the country, and frankly refusing to print even the news on the other side. Why are some people anxious to bring on Mexican Intervention? Why is the American Press for preparedness and pro-Ally?

5. Sign-Boards That Point Toward War.

There are social differences and differences in ideals. Yes, and there are differences in race, in language, and in religion. But here are no necessary causes of war. They are handy tools to use after war has been declared. They are handy instruments for the development of hatred and fear. But the men of different race, nationality, language, and religion, work side by side in American mills, and live side by side in American towns. In the second generation, they go side by side up the aisle of the church, and are pronounced man and wife. And all of this without any more hard feeling than is found among people having the same race, nationality, language and religion. Even the people that have been taught to hate one another in Europe get along very well together in America. They live in the same neighborhoods and send their children to the same schools.

Differences in race, nationality, language and religion do not make wars in the Twentieth Century. They help, but they are not at the bottom of the trouble. The germs of war are not here.

There are political causes of war.

The army and navy is a branch of the political government, and the army and navy wants war.

Men get tired of uselessness. "Here we are these many years," they complain, "doing nothing. We have been educated and equipped for war. We are tired of just showing off; we want the real thing." One of the great militarists of Europe is reported to have said regarding the army, "It is just like a big machine. It gets rusty if you do not use it."

Satan gloats over idle hands. Swaggering officers and gossiping army and navy circles are a constant menace to the peace of any nation.

Military men reason thus within themselves, "Why have officers if there is to be no war?" And, by the same token, if there are officers, why not have war? Any man trained for a profession, and then held continually away from it, would reason in exactly the same way. The military establishment is as likely to lead a nation toward war as guns and dogs are likely to lead a household toward hunting.

Still, the army is a relatively small factor in American life. There are less than twenty thousand military and naval officers in the United States. Their business is war, but they are the merest handful as compared with the whole country. If there were two or three hundred thousand officers in the United States they might constitute a serious menace to the peace of the country, as they do in those European countries that have a great militarist caste.

Secret diplomacy is a fruitful cause of misunderstanding among nations. The statesmen write notes for weeks or perhaps for years; the tension between the countries grows greater; intrigue breeds rumor; people are white hot with expectancy, fear, and uncertainty. Then a pin drops somewhere, and the nations are mobilizing.

If the records of the correspondence between the warring nations of Europe had been published before the war began instead of after it started, there might have been no war. The negotiations between nations should be as open as the sessions of the legislatures or the courts. Daylight diplomacy would eliminate much bad feeling between the nations.

There are politicians who would make war to get votes. Such men are undoubtedly in a hopeless minority, yet the type exists, and in a grave crisis it must be reckoned with.

Still this is not the answer. None of these things will explain the causes of great wars, like the present struggle in Europe. None of them will explain the campaign for national preparedness called on so effectively

in the newspapers, schools, colleges, and pulpits of the United States; or the campaign for intervention in Mexico that has been so persistently waged for years past. Differences in ideals, race, language, and religion help to develop hatred. The military caste, star-chamber diplomacy and political ambition play their part in fostering the war spirit, but they are not the germs of war. They are merely the medium in which the germs develop.

The germs of war lie deeper in the competition for economic advantages that has plagued mankind for ages, and that still rides like a nightmare on the neck of the human race.

6. The Economics of War.

Economic conflict has appeared in many forms. In the early dawn of history men were fighting for the fertile valleys of the world,—the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris. Race after race swept down on these garden spots and drove out or enslaved those who held them. For ages, history was a record of the campaigns waged by vigorous hill-tribes against the more cultured, richer, and less vigorous valley tribes. Then came the wars over trade-routes, and the struggle for the control of sea-going commerce. And now, under the dominion of an industrial system that is founded on the machine, the factory, the railroad, the bank and the retail store comes the international competition for foreign markets.

The United States, despite its "mind your own business" traditions, is deeply involved with the other nations of the world, in the struggle for foreign markets. Just now "South American trade" is our watchword.

Germany held the bulk of the South American trade before the war. England, Belgium and France had a share. Until recent years the business interests of the United States were so busy with the conquest of the

continent and the development of American resources that they had no time to bother with outside sources of investment and profit. Now that the important resources of the United States have been brought under private control, the business interests are turning eager eyes to Mexico, Cuba and Central and South America.

American business interests have entered the race to secure their share of the unexploited resources and the undeveloped trade of "backward" countries. They are hot on the trail, but they must meet competitors, and it is out of such competition that international misunderstandings frequently arise.

Has it ever struck you as remarkable that the European War, which began as a struggle between Servia and Austria, should have developed immediately into a war between England and Germany? England and Germany are at war! Yet there is nothing in their past to explain the conflict. England has fought battles with all of her principal Allies. It is little more than fifty years since she waged a bitter war against Russia. England and France are hereditary enemies. England helped to sweep Spain from her position as mistress of the world. So much for England's allies. Now as to her enemies. There has never been a war between England and Germany. Always the two nations have been friends. They have the same ancestors; the same traditions. They fought side by side at Waterloo. England has never come into conflict with Austria, though her interests have been as opposite to the interests of Austria as they have been to the interests of Russia. Despite these past relations, England, Russia and France are now Allies, and England and Germany are the chief antagonists in the war.

Why?

Why should a war begun in Central Europe change so quickly into a war between two friendly nations? Who would have thought it? Who, but the students of the competition between nations for the World's markets.

7. War Business is Good Business.

War business, or business war? There is nothing in a name but there is a great deal in the connection that exists between modern war and modern business.

The modern war is a business proposition.

The nation which prepares for war mobilizes munitions, materials, money and men. The experience of the past few months has showed that the hardest thing to get is munitions and the easiest thing is men.

Why are munitions so hard to get? Because in a modern war the amount of munitions consumed in a single engagement would have sufficed for an eighteenth century campaign. There have been days, during the present war, when one side at one point in one battle front has fired a quarter of a million shells per day, and continued this huge expenditure day after day. This is a greater use of ammunition than was dreamed of ten years ago, even among military experts.

The peace footing of most nations has called for a comparatively small capital invested in munition factories. The countries now at war multiplied their munitions capital many times before they were on a war basis. This sudden increase in a highly specialized industry and the economic changes necessary to meet the situation, have called into prominence a new arm of the military establishment. Today the success or failure of a war is in the hands of the "Minister of Munitions," who has leaped into a position of supreme importance.

Preparedness for war involves munition-shops, woolen-mills, and stable credit before one regiment can be put in the field. War today is largely a combination of business organization and applied science. Men are incidental. They direct the war machines. They are "cannon fodder." They play almost the same role that machine hands play in an up-to-date factory.

Because of the business nature of up-to-date warfare, business thrives on a war just as a fire thrives on fuel. During peace times buyers are careful; they look the goods over, and are slow in making up their minds. Peace times are times of calm and deliberation. War times are times of fever. Men's souls are aflame with patriotism, fear, blood-lust, hate. "Everything goes in war time," and at handsome prices.

The European War has been a wind-fall for the United States. Not since the Civil War have there been such opportunities. Contracts are large, the need is pressing, price is an incident, and even quality is sacrificed to speed.

Since the outbreak of the European War, wealth has piled up in the United States at an unheard of rate. There have been immense increases in the prices of rubber, copper, lead, zinc, petroleum, steel and other minerals, and like increases in the prices that manufacturers have been able to get for their products; the earnings of the munition factories have been phenomenal as have the dividends paid by many of the war-trade industries. Export trade is at the highest point in our history. The war in Europe is the greatest boon that American business has perhaps ever experienced.

America is enjoying real prosperity—phenomenal prosperity. To the American business world the war has been a Godsend.

War a Godsend!

Down below in the abyss from which America is drawing her countless millions, there are other countless millions. Cannons crash and guns sputter. Commands, shouts, cries, curses, screams and groans fill the air. Broken bodies writhe in agony. Other bodies lie still. Families are torn forever asunder; homes are desolated; children are weeping for their fathers, wives for their husbands, and mothers for their sons; villages lie in ashes and cities in ruins. Pestilence creeps from house to house, and famine whines at the door. Death in every hideous shape stalks through the war-torn countries.

Nations heap up mountains of debt that must crush joy out of Europe for fifty years. Through the crevices and the yawning chasms of this frightful wreckage tiny yellow rivulets and large yellow streams make their way, forming pools and little lakes in the hollows. Upon these we fling ourselves in an ecstasy of mad joy, warning all others back, and crying "Profit! Profit! Mine! My very own!"

In this connection, note the Ballad of Bethlehem Steel; or, The Need for Preparedness:

(By Grace Isabel Colbron, printed in the Public, December 10, 1915.)

A fort is taken, the papers say,
Five thousand dead in the murderous deal.
A victory? No, just another grim day.
But—up to five hundred goes Bethlehem Steel.

A whisper, a rumor, one knows not where—
A sigh, a prayer from a torn heart rent—
A murmur of Peace on the death-laden air—
But—Bethlehem Steel drops thirty per cent.

"We'll fight to the death," the diplomats cry.
"We'll fight to the death," sigh the weary men.
As the battle roars to the shuddering sky—
And—Bethlehem Steel has a rise of ten.

What matters the loss of a million men?
What matters the waste of blossoming lands?
The children's cry or the women's pain?
If—Bethlehem Steel at six hundred stands?

And so **we** must join in the slaughter-mill,
We must arm ourselves for a senseless hate,
We must waste our youths in the murder drill—
That Bethlehem Steel may hold its state.

It is a commercial proposition with us. They are anxious to buy. We sell. Business is good. What is it to us whether they set the guns we make in trenches or put them up as monuments in the public squares? We made the guns; they bought them. They have what they wanted and we have the cash!

That is the point, exactly. War has become a matter of business. War profits are large profits. So much the better. We will make hay while the sun shines!

But suppose the sun should cease to shine? Suppose the war should stop tomorrow? What would become of the hundreds of millions of capital that have been invested in munitions plants?

There is nothing easier! We must begin now to prepare a market that may be used in just such an emergency. A large navy, and a good-sized standing army will keep a good deal of munitions capital busy, even in peace times.

8. The War Makers.

Those who benefit most immediately and most directly by the war business are the makers of the munitions of war. The munition makers, or, more correctly, the "war makers," depend for their livelihood on fear, hatred, preparedness, slaughter, desolation.

The jackal is a prince, the vulture a gentleman, the hyena a reputable citizen compared with these war traffickers. God made the beasts and birds what they are; the munitions business is a man-made business. The quivering flesh of nations as its food. There is more joy among the makers of munitions over one nation at war than over fifty nations at peace. These scavengers of civilization make hell on earth and then fatten on the profits of their frightful business.

If you want a picture of the work of the munition makers, write to Congressman Clyde H. Tavenner (House of Representatives, Washington), and ask for copies of his two masterful speeches, "The Worldwide War Trust" and "The Navy League Unmasked." In the first of these speeches Congressman Tavenner shows that the munitions makers have received huge profits from the United States Government. Shrapnel that were manufactured in the Government Arsenal for \$7.94 were sold to Uncle Sam by the munition makers for \$17.50; time fuses were made for \$2.92 and bought from the munition makers for \$7.00; armor plate, torpedo flasks, rotary drums—all sold to the government for far more than a reasonable profit on the cost of production.

If it is true that we are now unprepared, argues Congressman Tavenner, after spending six hundred millions in the past five years on our navy; if we are unprepared, and spending half a billion each year on our war establishment, there must be some reason. "I believe," he says, "that these officers who, in the expenditure of the

people's money, have been paying \$115,075 for supplies which could have been obtained for \$58,246, should somewhere or in some manner be required to make a public accounting for their acts."

Congressman Tavenner goes into the question of armor plate manufacture, which he describes as "one long scandal." He shows that nine official estimates place the cost of making a ton of armor plate at \$247.17. "Yet since 1887 we have purchased 217,379 tons of armor, paying the Armor ring an average of \$440.04 per ton." Then he shows how the armor plate makers of England, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and the United States formed an armor plate trust, and he tells of the scandals in all of those countries and in Japan that arose out of the efforts of these war traffickers to sell more armor and thus make more profits.

He shows how the war makers manufacture news, misrepresent events, publish false alarms, and create fear in order to sell munitions. Case after case he cites, in which European Governments explored the trail of the war makers, and found them plotting and planning to create the same kind of intolerable friction between European Governments that the American interests referred to by the President have been attempting to create between the United States and Mexico.

Most vital of all, he shows that while the United States Government was experimenting with powder, and turning the results of their experiments over to a great American firm of powder manufacturers, this American firm had a contract with a German firm which required it to inform the German firm of "any and every improvement" in their processes of manufacture, and to keep them advised of the orders for powder received "from the government of the United States, or any other parties." This firm was actually turning over to the German firm full information regarding all of the powder secrets and powder business of the United States Government.

Furthermore, Congressman Tavenner shows that a man high in the military circles of the United States was

formerly in partnership with one of the great munitions firms, and that one of these firms employs an Ex-Army Official and Ex-Member of Congress to attend to its business in Washington. So, page after page, the sickening recital continues.

The speech, "The Navy League Unmasked," shows that these same war makers, or their representatives, run up and down the land and, in the name of patriotism, cry "Prepare," well knowing that each dollar spent for preparedness is money in their pockets. There is something sinister for the future of the republic in this "pocket-patriotism" or "profits patriotism" because, in the last analysis, it is no patriotism at all.

A group of Mexican bandits recently made a raid on a town in the United States, killed United States citizens and United States soldiers—killed them with rifles and bullets made in the United States. If war is declared tomorrow between Mexico and the United States, these profit-patriots would sell guns and munitions to the Mexicans as readily as they shipped rotten meat to the American soldiers during the Spanish-American War. Their country is capital. Their religion is profit. Their God is gold. Yet they cry patriotism to a pathetically ignorant and patient citizenship which is beginning to wonder whether there is not a need for preparedness after all.

The munition makers are not the only business men who benefit by war. The steel business, the oil business, the coal business, the shoe business, the woolen business, the meat business, the copper business and general business pick up in war times. These businesses are not averse to war. Some of the men engaged in them have been frank enough to wish publicly that the war would last at least three years, because, "It would mean so much to American business!" War for the sake of dividends! Prosperity, built on murder and rapine!

The munition makers are not the source of war.

This is not the end, however. England and Germany did not drop into a war stride because the muni-

tion makers wanted contracts, or because war meant better business, but because competitive business is war.

Two hundred years ago France was the leading country of the world. The English developed the factory system, and pushed France out of first place. The supremacy of France ended in 1815 with the Napoleonic Wars.

For a hundred years England has been the supreme industrial and commercial nation. It is only during the past forty years that Germany has come to the front. Her rise has been spectacular, however. Armed with her industrial, social, educational and military efficiency, she has threatened the world supremacy of England in the fields of industry, commerce and finance. England knew and understood the danger; Germany saw her real foe. It was for this reason that England and Germany flew at one another's throats.

9. The Wolf Struggle of Nations.

England was the first nation to develop the modern system of competitive factory industry. Her capitalists owned the resources and the machines. They hired workers, paid them less in wages than they created in product, and took the surplus (rent, interest, dividends, profits) for their own. This surplus the owners could not consume, so they invested it in new mills and mines at home. These new investments created new floods of surplus. The capitalists then went abroad in search of investments. They found iron ore in Cuba, and Chile, and oil in Mexico. German, English and American capitalists invested their surplus there. There was hard feeling, friction, conflict. Who was to exploit their choice bits of the earth?

Patriotic Germany was ready to protect the investments of her capitalists. Patriotic England was willing to defend her capitalists. A shot sounded from somewhere and England and Germany were at war!

Now the American capitalists, who are in charge of a similar exploiting system, are actively engaged in their efforts to lay their hands on Mexico and South America. Germany and England were strong there before the war. They are busy now, and it is Uncle Sam's turn to take a hand. The war will end. No matter whether England or Germany wins, the victor again will turn her attention to Mexico and South America.

The same international, economic competition, based on exploitation at home and investment abroad, that drove England and Germany into war will drive the United States to war with the victor in the European conflict, no matter which nation wins. The American papers talk glibly now of sympathy with English ideals. Kaiserism they hate. Therefore they are pro-ally. They forget that the Czar is also pro-ally, and Czarism is as repellent to American and English ideals as Kaiserism ever hoped to be. The United States has fought two wars with England, and been on the verge of two more. She has never fought with Germany, but it will be as easy to create friction in one case as in the other. If you do not believe it, read current events; read history, and then put two and two together.

The conflict is inevitable! The United States is driving fast toward war. Therefore, let us prepare!

Just so!

This is the real cause.

Here are the germs of war, lurking in economic competition between nations.

Now we know why we are to prepare. Now we know why ninety-five per cent of the patriotism around the campaign of the past year will be found among those who are benefited by things as they are and as they are to be, with preparedness to back them.

The American Exploiters are to continue their system of exploitation; they are to take the surplus secured by this exploitation; they are to invest this surplus for the purpose of exploiting resources and people outside of the United States and the United States is to prepare to defend them in this new exploiting venture. Thus preparedness is intended to back up economic piracy.

Do you object?

Are you not willing to pay higher prices, to add to the tax rate, to pile up national debt, perhaps to give your son, your brother, your husband, your father, in this holy cause of economic exploitation? The oil interests, the copper interests, the steel interests, the timber interests, the sugar interests, are calling to you, "Prepare! Prepare!" will you not rush to their aid?

You may hesitate unpatriotically, and question,— "Why," you ask, "do they not sell their surplus products at home. There are many in the direst need, here. Why not America first?" Why not? Because, the wages paid by these American exploiters to the American wage earners are so small in comparison to their product, that they cannot buy back what they made. The American wage scale stands between the American worker and his product. Now are you not satisfied?

What, you still protest? Then know this. That in the past, the American exploiters have been under a grave disadvantage as compared with their brothers abroad. They alone, among the capitalists of the world, have had no great standing army to protect their interests in their own country. Consequently malcontents and agitators have been able to stir up revolts and cut profits. Stand aside! Let preparedness become a reality and the vested interests of the United States will have an army in the words of President Wilson's last message,— "No larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us. Under no circumstances," he says, "will we maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war."

10. Defending American Ideals.

A chorus of protest sounds, "This preparedness is to defend American ideals, American homes, and American lives against the invader."

Therefore, we must increase our navy and our army. Therefore, we must spend more billions on war though we were, at the beginning of the European war, spending a larger portion of our national revenue on war than any other great nation. Still we are "defenseless" and "utterly at the mercy of a foreign foe."

If that is true, it might be sensible to ask what has become of the four and a quarter billions that we have spent during the past twenty years on the navy and the army, but that is incidental. The real question is whether the most threatening enemies of American ideals are in Berlin or in New York.

No one has yet invaded the United States. Those worthy citizens who have looked under their beds for the Kaiser each night during the past eighteen months have not seen him once. The Japanese are thousands of miles from our shores. England and France have not attacked us. Why then this chorus of protest?

Why Lawrence?

Why Paterson?

Why Little Falls?

Why West Virginia?

Why Colorado?

Why Youngstown, and the copper strike, and the clothing strikes, and the machinists strikes?

Why this dissatisfaction? this unrest? this embryo revolution? Can it be that the noisome tenement rookeries; the squalid back alleys; the toiling children; the exploited women; the long hours of high pressure work; and the grinding tyranny of unlimited industrial power, have aroused the American people to revolt?

Note these biting phrases:

- "1. Jobs uncertain; strikes; lay-offs and sickness.
- "2. Promotion and advancement uncertain and slow.
- "3. Favoritism and partiality are frequently shown.
- "4. Pay small and limited while learning a trade.
- "5. Same old, monotonous, tiresome grind every day.
- "6. Stuffy, gloomy and uninteresting working-place.
- "7. When sick, your pay stops and doctor's bill starts.
- "8. If disabled or injured, you receive little or no pay.
- "9. If you die, your family gets only what you have saved from your small wages.
- "10. Little CLEAR MONEY; nearly all you pay goes for your living expenses.
- "11. Old age, sickness, little money saved, your job goes to a younger and more active man."

Do you know where they came from? They were printed on a circular issued by Uncle Sam, to explain why young men should join the navy, and work for seventeen dollars a month and board.

American ideals? No. They are not included in that description. That is not a picture of democracy, of opportunity, of liberty, and of justice. It does tell the story of exploitation, and hopeless, intolerable human degradation.

The Kaiser did not do that to us. No, nor did the Mexicans, or the Japanese. Those unspeakable conditions of American life, that may be met with in every great center of industry, commerce and finance, from New York to San Francisco, and from Chicago to New Orleans, are the product of that same system of exploitation that we are now patriotically preparing to defend in its policy of foreign aggression.

11. Swat the Germ!

No thinking man can be patriotic to such a scheme of economic aggrandizement. No radical human being can be expected to rush forward to the defense of the gang that has already picked his pockets.

We are intelligent.

We use our minds.

We are for peace.

We are willing to prepare for peace.

The means of preparedness are as obvious as they are welcome to the profit patriots.

We are against war. We think we have found the germ of war. Then swat the germ! Let us here highly resolve that we will devote our energy, our thought, our lives to the work of destroying the germs of war. Joining hands, let us declare that:

1. War makers must go! Henceforth, all munitions shall be made by the government.

2. War profits must go! In case of war from this day forward, every able-bodied man in the United States will be put on the government pay-roll at \$17.00 a month, and rent, interest, dividends and profits will cease until the war is ended.

3. Economic Exploitation must go! The land, the resources, the public utilities, the social tools, must all be controlled and managed socially, not for profits, but for service.

These three steps we will take in order to destroy the germs of war. Then having turned our backs on the outworn things of the past, we will begin the work of true preparedness—for life, joy, hope, and the future. In furtherance of this plan to make happy, noble human beings:

1. We will guarantee to every child the right to be well born.

2. We will guarantee to every child the right to enough food, clothing and education to insure physical, and mental health and growth.

3. We will guarantee to each adult the full produce of his labor.

4. We will provide insurance against sickness, accidents, unemployment, and death.

5. We will give pensions against old age to every man and woman who has done his share of the work of the world.

6. We will take for social purposes all social values, whether in resources, in franchises, or in the product of any human activity.

7. And finally we will seek to guarantee equal opportunity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness through a government that restricts its activities to those necessary to provide for securing the common weal.

Books by Scott Nearing

- Wages in the United States.....**Postpaid \$1.38
 "A mine of facts looking toward the betterment of wage earners."—Literary Digest.
- Income**Postpaid \$1.38
 "The social injustice of our industrial and economic system demonstrated with startling vividness."—The Outlook.
- Financing the Wage-earner's Family.....**Postpaid \$1.38
 "Stirs your intellect—hits you with all emotional force."—New York Call.
- Reducing the Cost of Living.....**Postpaid \$1.38
 "Simple lucid summing up of the situation in which the price of everything has soared beyond the rise of income."—Chicago Tribune.
- Anthracite**Postpaid \$1.10
 A study of the effects of natural resource monopoly on the consumer, the worker and the monopoly.
- Social Adjustment.....**Postpaid \$1.66
 "A burning plea for a social crusade."—Journal of Political Economy.
- Social Sanity.....**Postpaid \$1.38
 "The book is strong and exceedingly suggestive."—Boston Transcript.
- Social Religion.....**Postpaid \$1.10
 "A concise summary of the inhumanities of social life . . . strong appeal to correct social evils."—Christian World.
- Woman and Social Progress.....**Postpaid \$1.66
 (In collaboration with Nellie M. S. Nearing.)
 "The book ought to be in the hands of every intelligent woman in the land."—The Independent.
- The Super Race.....**Postpaid \$0.55
 "A Book of Vision—of the vision that is coming true."—Review of Reviews.
- Elements of Economics.....**Postpaid \$1.10
 (In collaboration with Henry Reed Burch.)
 "The book is well written."—The Spectator, London, England.
 "Fresh, fair, vigorous and informing."—London Athenaeum.
- The Solution of the Child Labor Problem....**Postpaid \$1.10
 "The presentation is clear, forceful and logical."
 —The A. L. A. Book List.
 "Useful tonic to child labor reformers."—American Economic Review.
- The New Education.....**Postpaid \$1.10
 A descriptive survey of some of the important work that is being done in American schools to fit the educational system to the needs of the children and of the community.

Order from: The National Rip Saw, Pontiac Building,
 St. Louis